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Plenty For All

The Meaning of Socialism

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Plenty For All

CHAPTER I

In the summer of 1941, the newly-appointed Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Wickard, stated that it was possible today, *for the first time in the history of the world*, to grow enough food so that there would be plenty for every man, woman and child.

This statement is something to stop and think about. After all, the "history of the world" is a long time. Scientists tell us that men have been around on this earth for millions of years. Even if we accept the preacher's word that it is only some six thousand years since Adam and Eve, everyone will agree that it is a mighty long time.

But only in our day is it possible to grow enough food to feed everyone. It wasn't so in the Roman Empire, or in the Middle Ages, or under Napoleon, or even in your grandfather's day! But it is possible today. Why?

Man has become intelligent enough to conquer nature. It took him a long time. From the beginning of time until our century. At first man learned slowly. He continued to use a wooden plough for thousands of years. And for thousands of years he knew nothing about the chemistry of the earth except that crops needed fertile soil, rain, and sun. A bare hundred years ago—in 1843—the farmer was closer to the ancient Egyptians in knowledge and methods than to the knowledge and methods of today.

In other words, we have made more technological progress in a hundred years than was made in the previous five thousand years. This is because inventions don't proceed by addition, but by multiplication. It is *not* just two plus two makes four and plus two makes six and plus two makes eight. But rather two times two make four and four times four make sixteen and sixteen times sixteen make two hundred and fifty-six. Every invention makes the next one quicker and easier. Every bit of new knowledge about nature makes it easier to unlock new secrets.

Tractors, combines, fertilizers, improved seeds, irrigation, insect control, have all combined so that we read the following in the *1940 Yearbook of Agriculture*, United States Department of Agriculture:

Two billion acres (about five per cent of the earth's land area, and forty-two per cent of the present area under cultivation) would, under scientific agricultural methods, provide an optimum food supply for the entire population of the globe. . . . No account is taken of increased yields we may confidently expect from continued research by agronomists, plant geneticists, entomologists, experts in animal husbandry, forage crops, and soils.

If we turn from farming to industry, the progress has been even more breath-taking. Industrial museums like the Franklin Museum in Philadelphia and the Rosenwald Museum in Chicago exhibit machine tools used in the early period of American manufacture. Yet some of the machinists who ran those lathes and milling machines are still at work today! From productive industry to a museum piece in the lifetime of a man! That is the pace of industrial development.

Mass production increased the productivity of labor by fifty per cent in manufacturing industries for the fourteen-year period of 1923 to 1937 alone. This means that in 1937 each worker on the average was producing more in six hours than he did in eight hours in 1923. In other

industries the increase was even greater: eight-seven per cent in mining and one hundred and eleven per cent in electric power and light. For all industries, output per man-hour worked increased thirty-five per cent in the twelve years from 1929 to 1940.

In ancient Rome, the owner of thirty slaves was a man of wealth and leisure. Yet it is estimated that steam, electricity and gasoline engines give each American the equivalent of the labor energy of thirty slaves.

What does all this add up to?

Just this:

The old excuse for poverty no longer exists.

It is no longer necessary that the mass of people live a life of bitter toil and privation to give comfort and culture to a chosen few.

Modern science has made comfort and culture and leisure possible for all!

The natural resources are there.

The marvelous machinery is there.

The knowledge to produce is there.

After thousands of years man is at last in a position to free himself from scarcity, insecurity, and threat of hunger.

There is plenty for all. *Food*—more can be raised than we could possibly eat. *Clothing*—without straining our shops and operators we can produce several suits a year for every man, a dress a month for every woman, plenty for every child. *Shoes*—one plant like that of Thom McAn can make more shoes in a year than all the shoemakers of the country could a hundred years ago. *Houses*—cement, bricks, lumber, glass, steel can be turned out in quantities so that our building mechanics could tear down and rebuild the slums from Boston to Los Angeles in a concentrated ten-year program. Automobiles, refrigerators, radios, furniture, air conditioning equipment, the raw

materials are there, the machinery is there, the labor is there, to supply the entire population.

This is the Age of Science.

This is the Threshold to a New World.

For thousands of years man grovelled on his knees, wrestling with nature.

Now we have the stuff to lick nature, to make it do our bidding. This is our round!

Can we do it?

CHAPTER II

How the Owners of the Machine Have Mismanaged

The Machine Age is not very old. In this country it really got under way only after the Civil War. And there are men alive today who fought in that war. Yet the Machine Age has not only changed the face of America, it has changed the face of the entire world. A man who died in 1643 could have come back to life in 1743 and found little trouble in adjusting himself. A man who died in 1743 and came to life in 1843 would have seen a few new things. But a man who died in 1843 and came to life today would never recognize the world as a place he had ever seen before. Take him into the Ford plant at Dearborn, or down a highway at seventy miles an hour, or through the air at four hundred miles an hour, or into a movie, or before a radio, or at a telephone, or on a tractor pulling a modern combine! Who can say that the machine has not remade the world in one hundred years?

But HOW has it remade it?

Never was there such an immense power for good.

But *how* have the owners of the machine—the mills, mines, factories, railroads—used it? Have they ended pov-

erty? Have they introduced security? Have they provided a high standard of living? Have they brought about the peace and harmony possible with plenty? Have they used the machine to create the maximum wealth? Have they *really* made use of the power placed in their hands by science?

Never has a class in society had such a wonderful opportunity to build a decent world as has the modern class of industrialists, and bankers—the capitalist class. They rose to power with the rise of modern industry. Their rule coincided with man's conquest of nature.

What kind of world have they built?

They point to the *prosperity* of 1924-29 as the "normal" years. These were really the *best* years of capitalism in this country. What was the average wage which the workers received? In the year 1927 they made the following average *weekly* wage:

Agricultural laborers	\$10.25
Factory workers	23.38
Workers in mines, quarries, oil wells	23.54
Clerks in stores	24.27
Construction workers	31.61
Unclassified industries	23.10

(Dr. Willford King, *The National Income and Its Purchasing Power*, page 144.)

This was the *prosperity* year of 1927!

In 1926, the National Industrial Conference Board reported that, in its opinion, a wage of \$1,907 a year, or \$36.68 a week was essential for a decent living for a family of five in New York City.

\$36.68 for a decent living in 1926!

And the highest paid workers, the construction workers, average \$31.61!

This is the standard of living of the working family in time of "*prosperity*."

What was it in the *depression* year of 1931?

In November of that year the National Industrial Conference Board reported that the average employed worker in the manufacturing industry was working thirty-seven and one-half hours per week and averaging \$20.31 per week. The four main classes of factory workers follow:

Male workers	\$21.56
Female workers	13.38
Skilled and semi-skilled	22.22
Unskilled	17.07

This was the weekly average. But not everyone worked the year around.

And what did wages look like during the period of so-called *New Deal recovery*?

Department of Labor figures for manufacturing industries, where wages were highest, show the following for this period:

Year	Average Weekly Wage	Average Hourly Wage	Average Hours Worked
1936	\$22.60	0.56	39
1937	24.95	0.63	38½
1938	22.70	0.64	35½
1939	24.58	0.64	37½
1940	26.11	0.67	38

Those are *New Deal* wages.

But what about today? Aren't we told that workers are just rolling in wealth as a result of the war? Doesn't Eddie Rickenbacker tell us workers are earning such high wages that they take time off and go on a drunk?

Well, what about "*wartime*" wages?

In December, 1942, the average wage in manufacturing industries was \$40.27 for an average week of forty-four hours at an average hourly rate of ninety and a half cents per hour.

Sure, forty dollars sounds like a lot of money after we

have been getting twenty-two and twenty-four and twenty-six for the last ten years.

But how much does forty dollars buy TODAY?

On January 12, 1943, the Department of Labor index on food prices stood thirty-three per cent above the average for the years 1935-39!

It means that a package of groceries that cost seventy cents during 1935-39 will cost your wife ninety-three cents today.

It means that if you are now earning ninety-three cents an hour instead of seventy cents, your hour's work will still only buy the same amount of food.

Of course, everyone is working long hours these days in the war industries. This means that the *weekly* wage is considerably increased. But just how much is the worker ahead? Is he living so much better now than in peacetime? Wartime wages only *seem* high when we forget about wartime taxes and wartime prices. It is hard for us to realize that forty dollars a week is really very little *today*. We are used to thinking in terms of dollars, not not in how much they buy. But first, just how much of the forty dollars do we take home on payday to begin with?

This is what it looks like:

Weekly income tax (two dependents, all exemptions claimed)	\$1.80
Ten per cent war bonds	4.00
Social Security Tax	.40
Other taxes (sales, tobacco, liquor, amusement, phone, gas, electricity, etc.)	1.50
Total	\$7.70

Now what is left of your forty dollars. Exactly \$32.30.

And now you begin spending it at wartime prices. In terms of food it buys about as much as \$21.64 did in the years 1935-39. And when one allows for the difference

between government prices and what one actually pays in the store, it is even less. Do you wonder why housewives come home from shopping with bad tempers these days? Above all when they realize that your wages are frozen but prices keep rising.

What have the workers got from capitalism in this age of mass production?

1927—Prosperity wage (factory workers)	\$23.38
1931—Depression wage (average wage)	20.31
1938—New Deal recovery wage (average)	22.70

And today, wartime wages that buy less every day.

If the Machine Age poured out such wealth, where did it go? We can see from the above that the working class did not grow fat on it.

The National Bureau of Economic Research for the year 1928 reported that 25.02 per cent of the total income of the country went to one per cent of the richest income tax payers. Their number was 43,184 men. Fewer than the number of workers squeezed into a few blocks of tenement houses in the East Side slums of New York City alone.

In 1929, the big boom year of capitalism, 513 men each received over a \$1,000,000 income. *Their combined income was equal to that of over a million (1,005,887) ordinary workers!*

That is where the wealth goes that the working class turns out on the marvelous machinery. *Five hundred and thirteen capitalists get as much as over a million ordinary workers!*

And this is not in the depression years. Nor in the war years. But in the so-called normal years of 1925-29.

In the New Deal year of 1936, there were 12,250,000 families (forty-two per cent of all families) who received less than \$900 a year income!

Has the war, perhaps, changed this? Maybe the capitalists are sacrificing so much for the war that their share of the national income has gone down?

Well, let's look at what corporation profits are like for some of the big "war babies":

Company	Earnings for Recent Period	Earnings Same Period Year Ago	Pct. Incr.
Cramp Shipbuilding Co.	\$693,824	\$110,719	626.5
Packard Motor Car Co.	4,726,237	2,061,323	129.2
Graham-Paige Motors Corp.	1,635,249	690,536	136.8
Los Angeles Shipbuilding & Drydock	523,595	256,551	104.1
Vultee Aircraft, Inc.	4,291,140	3,100,735	38.4
E. W. Bliss Co.	2,712,328	2,051,206	34.2
Van Norman Mach. Tool Co.	1,960,668	735,185	166.7
Pennsylvania Railroad Co.	101,468,793	58,073,579	74.9
Crane Co.	4,824,602	3,727,819	29.4
Erie Railroad Co.	14,339,524	7,853,731	82.6
Pullman Co.	9,150,769	1,855,169	393.3
Pressed Steel Car Co.	1,728,726	812,258	49.5

We can see from the above that the capitalists don't take patriotism so seriously as to let it interfere with profits. In war or peace, one law of capitalism continues: the rich get richer and the poor get poorer.

In 1937 there appeared one of the most significant books ever to appear in this country. No one has a right to even talk about the actual state of affairs in America without having read it. It is *America's Sixty Families*, by Ferdinand Lundberg. Not a single important fact set forth by Lundberg has yet been refuted by the spokesmen of big business. Yet his figures and conclusions are enough to damn forever the picture of the "American Way of Life" that is daily painted for us in newspapers, newsreels, and over the radio. Says Lundberg:

The United States is owned and dominated today by a hierarchy of its sixty richest families, buttressed by no more than ninety fami-

lies of lesser wealth. Outside this plutocratic circle there are perhaps three hundred and fifty other families, less defined in development and in wealth, but accounting for most of the incomes of \$100,000 or more that do not accrue to members of the inner circle.

How do these capitalists live? What do they do with all this money that comes to them year in and year out?

They do their utmost to spend as much of it as they can in pleasures. The bulk of it goes back into new investments to make more money. But part of it goes for country homes, town houses, yachts, parties and hundreds of fantastic hobbies that cost millions of dollars. Writes Lundberg:

As to fantastic—and expensive—parties, they are so numerous that they bewilder the inquirer. The Dorrance family (Campbell's soups) makes a regular practice of taking over the ballroom, the Clover Room and the entire second and third floors of the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, Philadelphia, for parties to which Wideners, Stotesburys, Dukes, Drexels, and Biddles are invited. *Fortune*, ecstatically describing one of these pretentious affairs, said: "There would be rare flowers and foliages, and hundreds of live macaws and toucans and cockatoos and parakeets and birds of paradise in cages, and showers of rose petals falling pinkly on the dancers out of an electrically activated sky." Newspapers estimated the cost per function at from \$75,000 to \$150,000. But these were really rather small parties.

At the close of 1936, Mrs. Evalyn Walsh McLean, the proud possessor of the \$2,000,000 Hope diamond, heiress to a mining fortune, and married into a newspaper and Cincinnati public-utilities fortune, renewed her custom of staging a lavish New Year's Eve party in Washington. The newspapers set the cost of this function, tendered to her son, John R. McLean II, at \$50,000, which seems rather low, in view of the details. There were 325 guests at dinner and 650 at the ball which followed. As the house of the McLean estate, Friendship, was not large enough to accommodate guests and their equerries and footmen, Mrs. McLean ordered constructed a special wing, which was torn down after the party was over. The orchestras played for the dancers; the cost of beverages alone was, according to the *New York Herald Tribune*, \$9,000. The liquid refreshments comprised 480 quarts of champagne, 288 bottles of Scotch whiskey, 48 quarts of cocktails, 36 bottles of liqueurs, and 40 gallons of beer.

The menu included several tons of tomato stuffed with crabmeat, cream of mushroom soup, breast of guinea hen, spinach, potatoes, ices, fruits and coffee.

Mrs. McLean, presiding in the turmoil, wore the Hope diamond, the Star of the East (another large stone) and six diamond bracelets. She was closely guarded, as befitted a walking fortune, by fifteen private detectives and a company of Washington police, who kept vigilant eyes as well on the scintillating jewelry of the guests.

Besides these parties, Lundberg describes the marble swimming pool, the luxurious bathrooms with their gold faucets, the expensive yachts (some costing as much and two and a half million dollars), pipe organs, private golf courses, airplanes, fleets of motor cars. George Vanderbilt built a country place in North Carolina that cost \$6,000,000. The du Ponts employ more servants than the royal family of Great Britain. Hearst spent \$15,000,000 for furnishings and antiques alone for his San Simeon estate in California. "There is, for example, Winterthur, the ducal 150-room residence of the Henry F. du Ponts, boasting forty bedrooms, each with a radio installation, each replete with costly antiques; the cost of the building alone was \$2,000,000 and, including the grounds, trappings, furniture and fixtures, the cost of the whole establishment easily touches \$10,000,000."

That is how the capitalist class lives.

That is where the wealth goes.

And how does the working class live?

How do those live who create this wealth?

What kind of houses do the workers live in?

The workers of New York City are, by and large, considered better housed than those in other large cities in the East. Yet the New York State Board of Housing in its report of March 6, 1929, declared that more than 1,700,000 persons were still housed in old-law apartments that were structurally so inadequate that they could not

be altered to meet even the most modest of modern standards. Further:

Thousands and thousands of people in the city are sleeping and living in apartments so dark that light must be burned all day; so airless that in summer the families are forced to sleep on the roofs; so foul smelling because of garbage in hallways, in courts and streets, and because of adjoining stables or factories, that one of the only two windows in the whole flat has to be kept shut. The tenants must climb five or six flights of stairs to dispose of garbage, for the dumb-waiters are seldom in repair. Toilets for two or five families are in the halls or in the yards. The sanitary condition of the toilets is indescribable. There is insufficient water, neglected plumbing, no ventilation or light—these tell the condition without further description.

The housing census of 1940 tells us that there were then over 2,300,000 urban dwelling units in need of major repairs and an additional 3,400,000 that lacked a private both.

In more than 200 units, almost one-fifth of the dwellings were in need of major repairs or were simply unfit for human habitation—another two-fifths needed work done on them to bring them up to a decent standard.

And except for some emergency houses in war industry centers, the war has put an end to further building and major repairing. At the end of the war the workers' houses will be still older and still worse.

President Roosevelt himself has said that one-third of the nation is ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed.

That is how the working class lives.

Not in Ancient Rome—not in the Middle Ages—not in industrially backward China—but in the United States in 1943, in the United States of the Machine Age when we have the power to provide plenty for all.

But that is the "normal" existence for the working class. And at regular periods capitalism cannot even provide that much. It just breaks down. The volume of sales drops off. No need of producing as much. Workers are

laid off. They cannot buy as much. Less goods are needed. More are laid off. The mad cycle continues. The wages are slashed. Hours of work are lengthened. Some plants shut down altogether. It is called a "depression." In 1932-33 it was estimated that the number of unemployed reached the phenomenal figure of seventeen million persons! This meant that practically half of the working class was unemployed. Yet the spokesmen for capitalism speak of this as if it is natural, like an earthquake or a tornado.

In a sense they are right. Under capitalism it is inevitable to have a crisis and mass unemployment. Why?

Because the purchasing power of the masses does not increase fast enough to provide a market for the growing volume of production. Just what does that mean?

We have seen above how the capitalist class does its best to spend its money. Yet even if the du Ponts gave a \$10,000 party *every* Sunday it would only cost them \$520,000 a year. And their yearly income is \$3,925,000. What happens to their income? They reinvest it in making more money. This means building new plants, more machinery, expansion to produce more. For instance:

Those with an income of one million dollars a year or more save, on the average, 74.4 per cent. In other words, one-fourth of their incomes is spent in lavish and riotous living and three-fourths is "saved." How do they save it? By investing in new money-making enterprises. This in addition to what the corporations themselves hold back for expansion. This means new factories, new mines, new railroads, new machinery, new chains of stores, etc. All of them turning out more goods to be sold.

But who will buy the goods?

The working class does not receive enough raises in pay to keep buying up what industry can produce. In 1925-29 the capitalists introduced large-scale installment

buying. This permitted the working class to buy a lot of goods even without ready cash. But finally the capitalists realized that there was no profit in further expansion. The heavy industries that provide the steel, cement, glass, machinery, rubber and transportation needed in expansion had a big slump. Millions of workers were laid off in Pittsburgh, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland. This meant even less goods could be bought. From the heavy industries the layoffs reached the light industries. Millions of dressmakers, tailors, shoe workers, food workers, clerks, waiters, joined the auto workers, machinists, steel workers, miners, in long lines at the relief stations. Hunger stalked through the richest country in the world! Hunger in the midst of plenty!

Wheat rotted in the granaries. Meat piled up in the cold storage houses. Cotton accumulated in Southern warehouses. And hungry men and women stormed the relief stations asking for a miserable handout for themselves and their children.

Man is smart enough to fly through the air, dig into the bowels of the earth, travel deep under the sea; but he goes hungry in the midst of food, and freezes in the midst of mountains of cotton, wool, and leather.

That is capitalism!

It cannot be otherwise under capitalism!

That is how the capitalist owners of the industries, the rulers of the Machine Age, have managed.

For themselves:

Millions in profits.

Country palaces costing ten million dollars.

Yachts costing two and a half millions.

Fifty thousand dollar parties.

Marble bathtubs with gold faucets.

Houses with 150 rooms.

For the mass of the people:

Starvation wages.

Crowded, broken-down, foul houses.

Mass unemployment and a relief hand-out.

Hunger in the midst of plenty.

War, scarcity, rationing, slaughter.

That is what the capitalist class has done with the golden opportunity of the Machine Age. Instead of plenty for all—the fat of the land for a few and poverty for the mass.

CHAPTER III

Why the Capitalist System Won't Work

Why did the capitalists mess up this chance of plenty for all? Why did they bring about chaos instead of order? Why wealth piled up on one side and poverty on the other? Why “boom” years followed by “depression”? Why “depression” followed by war? Why the turmoil of strikes, strife, struggle; man against man, class against class, nation against nation?

Because the very root of capitalism is wrong.

Because the basic idea is unsound.

Because the foundation is illogical.

Because the capitalist system is founded on a *contradiction*.

What is this contradiction?

It is the system in which the man who owns the tools of production does not work them; and—

The man who works them does not own them.

This is the basic contradiction of capitalism.

Before we had capitalism the owner of the tools and the worker of the tools *were the same man*. In those days the tools were simple: saws, hammers, spinning wheels,

weaving looms. The workman owned his tools. He bought his raw materials. The product he made was his own. He sold it for the best price. He was his own boss. True—he worked long hours and hard. He never lived well. Life was a drudgery. But he didn't know wage cuts, lock-outs, unemployment, speed-ups, strikes and insecurity.

Then came the inventions. The tools of production became workshops, factories and, finally, gigantic industries. Only a rich man could set up a factory. Land-owners, bankers, merchants had the capital. They became the capitalists.

Each machine now turned out as much as several workmen formerly did with hand tools. The owner of the machine could pay the worker to run it and still keep a good margin of profit. The profit bought more machines. More workers were employed. More profit. More machines. On one hand, a handful of men who owned the tools of production. On the other hand, the mass of workers who could only make a living by working for the capitalists.

What happened now?

The product no longer belonged to the producer—the worker at the machine. It belonged to the capitalist owner of the machine. He sold it for the best price the market would pay. And gave the worker the smallest wage he would work for.

The less the wage for the worker, the bigger the profit for the capitalist.

The bigger the wage for the worker, the less the profit for the capitalist.

The capitalist was interested in longer hours, speed-up, and low wages.

The worker was interested in shorter hours, easier work, and high wages.

Capitalism created a class of owners pitted against a class of workers—at war with each other—engaged in a *class struggle* with each other.

The capitalist owner of industry has only one reason to run his factory—profit. Under capitalism, the needs of the people for various goods are not the *primary* purpose of production. The capitalist will just as soon make rifles as Bibles, medicine as poison gas, pre-fabricated houses as “block-buster” bombs, artistic reprints as pornography. All he asks is: “Which will pay more?”

The fact that the millions of people depend upon industry for food, clothing, housing, furniture, transportation, communications and amusement is of interest to the capitalist only as the “market” in which he can realize a profit.

He is the dictator over his plant. He can run it or shut it down to please himself. If there is profit in production he hires men, works overtime, night shifts. If profit falls off, he throws his workers into the street to shift for themselves.

He operates anarchistically. Without plan, without social purpose. His only god is the Almighty Dollar—his Holy Script is the magic word “Dividends.”

That is why capitalism is more destructive than all the earthquakes, tornadoes, floods, cloudbursts, tidal waves and volcanic eruptions ever visited upon earth from the beginning of time.

Capitalism kills and cripples millions in its wars, in class strife and civil war, in hunger and freezing, in industrial accidents and disease, in malnutrition and child labor, in poverty and crime. It destroys the wealth of society and wastes the labor potential of millions of idle hands.

Capitalism pits worker against worker in bidding for a job. It pits capitalist against capitalist in fighting for

profits. It pits workers against capitalists in class struggle. It pits capitalist nation against capitalist nation in imperialist war. It pits producer against consumer, landlord against tenant, farmer against city dweller, white against Negro, Gentile against Jew.

WHY?

All in the mad race for a crust of bread, for survival, for security. In an age when plenty is possible for all!

It is the system of COMPETITION—

It is the system of dog eat dog, of each man for himself and the devil take the hindmost, of the law of the jungle.

And in the mad scramble of capitalism, the Age of Plenty—the New World within our power—is being trampled in the dust.

So that Mrs. McLean can throw a \$50,000 party and parade her two million dollar diamond before her six hundred and fifty guests.

And ten million workers run bayonets into each other's guts in an imperialist war.

Capitalism stands before us indicted as a system of criminal madness, "dripping with blood and filth."

And the capitalist class stands before us as mad overlords in control of a high-powered auto careening furiously to destruction.

CHAPTER IV

The Death Agony of Capitalism

We have seen how the working class lives under capitalism, in time of "prosperity," in time of "depression," and in time of war. But capitalism does not stand still. It grows and develops and then decays. Much like a human

being. First there is a lusty child, then a youth, then a man in all his vigor of life, then old age and senility.

It has taken capitalism less than two hundred years to run the course of its lifetime.

In its youth, capitalism was a great boon to mankind. It developed the forces of production. It spread machine production over the face of the land and over the face of the earth. It tied the continents together in world exchange. Even if the early capitalists made stupendous profits, the crumbs that dropped to the working class soon gave them a better life than they had before the Machine Age.

From 1870 to 1914 capitalism was in the hey-day of its development. Profits kept rolling in. Expansion continued at home and abroad. One country after another was swept into the capitalist tide—Japan, China, South America, India. New markets, new raw materials, new labor power to turn into more profits for further capitalist expansion.

Small capitalists became big, big capitalists merged into combines and trusts and world-wide monopolies. The machinery of production became bigger and bigger and more and more expensive. The little capitalist could not afford it. He lost out in the struggle for markets. His plant was bought up or destroyed. Competitive capitalism was replaced by monopoly capitalism and national capitalism became world imperialism.

The small manufacturer who showed up at the plant every morning to supervise production disappeared from heavy industry and became less frequent in light industry. Trusts like United States Steel, Standard Oil, General Motors, American Telephone & Telegraph, Aluminum Company of America are owned by stockholders who may never have seen the plants. They bought their shares through a broker. Annually, the big stockholders elect

a board of directors to run the business. But the board of directors is usually composed of bankers and corporation lawyers who know nothing about steel, oil, or automobiles. They hire engineers to supervise actual production. The owners collect dividends, not because they know anything about steel or oil, or because they do anything. They collect dividends because they own a piece of paper—a stock certificate. This is modern capitalism.

Such tremendous trusts dominate the business of America today. Two Columbia University professors, Adolf A. Berle, Jr., and Gardiner C. Means, published a book in 1934 called *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*. The authors showed that the entire wealth of the USA in buildings, railroads, machines, farms, autos, etc., etc., totaled three hundred and sixty-seven billion dollars. Of this, eighty-one billion, or, roughly, twenty-two per cent belonged to two hundred big corporations, controlled by a handful of financial capitalists. Over one-fifth of the wealth is owned by two hundred companies!

In 1926 the Federal Trade Commission issued a *Report on National Wealth and Income*. In it the commission showed that one per cent of the population owned at least fifty-nine per cent of the wealth; that twelve per cent (the middle class) owned thirty-one per cent of the wealth; and that eight-seven per cent (workers, farmers, small shopkeepers) owned a bare ten per cent of the wealth!

That has been the life development of capitalism: from competition to combination, from small industry to large, from competitive small producers to immense monopolistic trusts.

Today the class lines are almost frozen tight. What are the chances of an auto worker owning his own plant some day? About the chances of a snowball in hell. The big fortunes were made in the first mad scramble. Those

on the outside, the millions of working people, can only look to a future as members of their class. Their hope must be "not to rise out of their class, but to rise with their class."

But with the concentration of wealth on the top, one would think the capitalist system would become more easily regulated, more stable, more orderly. But quite the contrary is the case. The so-called depression of 1929-38 was the longest and deepest crisis in capitalist history. What is more—

The year 1929 was the beginning of a special kind of crisis, a social crisis!

This means that it was more than a temporary business let-down. It is the permanent crisis of the whole social order. It is the *death agony of capitalism*.

It is not ended. It has merely changed from the paralysis of depression to the mad fever of war. The cold chill of unemployment has given way to the death rattle of bombardments.

Even Sir William Beveridge, the author of the plan that bears his name, says that England must calculate on millions of unemployed after the war. Beveridge expects the fever of war to give way again to the chill of depression.

But no serious economist is ready to say that capitalism will get well and healthy again!

In reality, world capitalism has been deathly sick since 1914. We pointed out that the years of 1870-1914 were the period of capitalist manhood. There was peace, prosperity and a rising standard of living—more or less.

But the earth became too small for the continued expansion of capitalism. There was no more territory to divide among the big imperialist nations. So they got into two groups and fought it out for control of the earth. Germany headed one group. England headed the other.

At the end of the war England and America were supreme. But they couldn't put the world of capitalism on its feet again. All the Dawes Plans, and Young Plans, and Banks of International Settlement and Leagues of Nations, and World Economic Conferences were attempts to doctor up the sick old system. By 1929 all the dope and all the crutches and all the doctoring broke down. Capitalism had a violent relapse. It entered the phase of the final crisis, the crisis that gripped the whole range of society, the social crisis.

The violent sickness spread over the world like an epidemic. And like an epidemic it struck down the weakest first. Its first victim was Germany.

Germany had been ruined by World War I, stripped of her colonies, reduced in size, deprived of coal and iron mines and saddled with an enormous debt. Unemployment and bankruptcy gripped Germany by the throat in 1929, worse than any other nation. The German industrialists were being forced against the wall. On one side, England and France were demanding reparation payments and squeezing German capitalism out of the world market. On the other side, the German working class was struggling to keep up its standard of living, keep up wages despite less profits for the industrialists. Thyssen, Krupp and other big magnates of German capitalism were in despair. They feared that capitalism would crack up, that the working class would revolt. They knew their enemies. In the first place, the German labor movement. In the second place, England and France, their imperialist rivals.

There was one man in Germany with a large party that preached against the labor movement and against England and France. He promised, first of all, to smash the working class parties and the trade unions; secondly, to rearm Germany for a war of imperialist conquest. His

name was Adolf Hitler. Capitalism, with one foot in the grave, called upon Hitler to save it. Capitalism, on its deathbed, cursing and praying, sunken to imbecility and senility, spewed forth from the bowels of hell its savior—fascism.

Fascism is the ugly child of capitalist decay.

Fascism is the last resort of the capitalist class everywhere—of the Thyssens and Krupps, of the Beaverbrooks and Hearsts, of the Mitsuis and Mitsubishis, of the du Ponts and Fords.

Fascism is the answer of capitalism to the working class, the answer of concentration camps and machine guns.

Fascism becomes the political form of capitalist rule in the period of the Death Agony of Capitalism.

Fascism in Germany today is a picture of America tomorrow—if the capitalists have their way about it!

Fascism is born out of capitalist decay, out of unemployment, out of hunger, out of discontent, out of bankruptcy.

Fascism is the violent cough out of the tubercular lungs of capitalism. No cough drops will stop it. Only killing the disease itself will stop the cough.

Stopping the cough and leaving the tubercular germs at work is futile. And this is what a mere "defense of democracy" does. Because "democracy" today is also based on capitalism. That is why it is correct to call it "capitalist democracy." It has survived in those countries rich enough to survive the epidemic of capitalist crises. It has survived in England because her vast Empire permitted the capitalists to skim off enough cream to keep the population at home satisfied. English "democracy" is based on slavery for millions of Indians, Africans, and Arabs. American democracy is based on the fat accumulated by

capitalism in the past and economic exploitation of the world.

Democracy is a luxury for capitalism. It can only afford it in time of prosperity. When capitalism begins slashing wages in time of crisis or rationing food in time of war, and mass discontent arises, it is necessary to dispense with the luxury of democracy. Germany, Italy, Japan, France, and smaller capitalist countries have already done away with democracy. England and America, the richest capitalist nations of the earth, have until now still been able to afford this luxury.

The fight against fascism must be an offensive one. Not "defense of democracy" but "down with capitalism" must be the watchword. But the offensive must begin by fighting tooth and nail to *defend* every democratic right—the right to strike, to speak freely, to write freely, to meet freely, to organize freely.

But everywhere under democratic capitalism the question must arise, to paraphrase Abraham Lincoln: "This house cannot remain divided against itself. Either it will be all slave or it will be all free. Either the capitalist dictators of industry will do away with political democracy and establish fascism, or the mass of the workers will do away with the dictators of industry and establish democracy everywhere."

Hitler did the bidding of Thyssen and Krupp and struck down the German labor movement. The leaders of the working class parties and unions were arrested, many murdered, others exiled. German capitalism was then free to slash wages and regiment labor for its next job—rearmament and war.

The English and French capitalists feared war. They were still fat from the spoils of the last war. They had little to gain compared to the risk. The risk was great. The war may end in a revolution. Hitler feared a revolu-

tion, too. But German capitalism was up against the wall. It was being slowly strangled by the capitalist crisis. It was willing to gamble. Hitler played a clever game. He knew that he could move ahead without fear of the English ruling class. They were more afraid of revolution than of Hitler. So he militarized the Rhineland, occupied Austria, scared Chamberlain into giving him the Sudetenland, grabbed up Czechoslovakia, took Memel, prepared to march into Poland. All the while the English capitalists were hoping he would become satisfied and stop, or direct his blows against Russia. Finally they had to overcome their fear of revolution and go to war.

Not to save democracy!

Not to defeat fascism!

But to save the British Empire!

To prevent the German capitalists from re-dividing the earth!

And the American imperialists are just as little interested in the question of democracy or fascism. Witness the scandalous affair in North Africa with the French fascist Darlan. And now with the arch-reactionary militarist, Giraud, and the monarchist-turned-democratic politician, de Gaulle. Or the maneuvers with the Austrian pretender, Otto of Hapsburg. Or the paens of democratic praise for bloody dictators like Batista of Cuba and Vargas of Brazil.

World War I was continued in World War II. The imperialist powers of the earth took a breathing period, raised more cannon fodder, prepared and maneuvered for position. Then they continued in 1939 essentially where they left off in 1919.

Again the big industrial giants wrestle for control of the earth. Germany with its allies on one side, England and America and their allies on the other.

Capitalism must expand—or die! "The earth is di-

vided? Then it must be redivided," say the hungry imperialists.

Thirty or forty million men are placed in uniform and given guns to slaughter each other.

Cities are bombed. Ships are sunk. Crops laid waste. Oil wells blown up and oil made from coal. Gunpowder made from cotton and clothing from paper. Coffee allowed to rot in Brazil and substitutes used in America. Sugar piled up in Puerto Rico and rationed in New York. Millions of strong men sent into the Army and women sent into heavy industry. Liars put on the radio and honest men in jail. Civilization "defended" in Lybia and Guadalcanal, and schools closed in German and America.

This is capitalism in its Death Agony.

This is capitalism gone mad.

This is World War II—second ugly child of the social crisis of capitalism.

Depression—unemployment—hunger.

Fascism—murder—barbarism.

War—mass slaughter—devastation.

That is the "normal" life of capitalism today.

That is the foul death stench of capitalism.

That is the *real* enemy of civilization.

CHAPTER V

The Way Out

Now we have the whole mess laid out before us. Science has given us the machine. We have the Age of Plenty within our grasp. But the capitalist system has messed up everything. Instead of the Age of Plenty we have depression, fascism, and war.

How can we go about straightening things out?

What is the way out?

We said that all this madness of capitalism began with the basic contradiction: it separated the worker from the tools, one class owned the machinery of production and another class operated it.

We can only straighten out the mess by once more making the owner of the tools and the user of the tools, the same man. *The tools of production must once again belong to the producers.*

But is every worker to own his own machine? That is obviously impossible. What is more, it is undesirable. Because it is the giant industries of today that make possible the Age of Plenty. We want to keep them big and efficient.

It is therefore necessary that the producers—the working people—own the industries coöperatively, own them in common, through owning the government.

Government ownership and operation of industry.

Working class ownership and operation of government.

THAT IS THE ONLY WAY OUT!

That will again make the producer the owner of the tools of production. That will bridge the contradiction of capitalism. That will replace competition with coöperation. That will usher in the *Age of Plenty*.

How will this bring us PLENTY FOR ALL?

First, it will end production for profit. This means that the billions going to the wasteful capitalist class will be added to the wages of the workers.

Second, it will *plan* production and so vastly increase the output of wealth that there will be plenty for all.

The first change would end the big incomes and more evenly distribute the income of the country. It would immediately add a substantial increase to the living standards of the masses.

Last year (1942) the national income was one hundred and seventeen billion dollars. Distributed evenly it would have meant an income of \$4,034 for every family of two or more. Even with wartime prices, this would have represented a substantial rise in the standard of living of the vast majority.

But this is a mere nothing to what is possible by taking the second step, planning production for maximum output.

It is *not* dividing the income of the capitalists that will usher in the Age of Plenty. Because it was *not* upon their selfishness that we based our main indictment of the capitalist class.

It is because they have mismanaged.

It is because capitalism means an economy of scarcity and not of Plenty for All.

We want to throw the capitalists off our backs so that we can release the boundless energy of the Machine Age to provide Plenty for All.

Not the division of income, but *planned production* is the key to the *Age of Plenty*.

There is located in Washington, D. C., an organization called the Brookings Institute, which employs some of the best statisticians in the country to do research in economic trends. They regularly lean on the conservative side of things and apologize for capitalism. In 1934 they issued a book which was a study of *America's Capacity to Produce*. What did they conclude?

They concluded that in 1929, on the basis of fully utilizing the plant capacity of American industry, without a single other change, without planning, just merely by working at capacity, it would have been possible to produce nineteen per cent more than was produced in that so-called boom year.

This would have meant, they point out, adding fifteen

billion dollars to the national income. This would have made it possible to increase the income of fifteen million families by \$1,000 each. Or it would have been possible to bring the sixteen million families below two thousand dollars each up to that level. And all this by merely making use of the idle plant capacity and the idle manpower.

But we would do *far* more than that. We would scientifically plan production for the well-being of the people. Just as the managers and engineers carefully plan production within one corporation like General Motors, so we would plan for an entire industry, and for the entire nation.

How would it work?

In the national capital would sit a National Planning Board. On it would be scientists, engineers, economists, statisticians and the direct representatives of the trade unions and farmers' organizations. They would work out a national plan of production for the year. How? Just as the managers of United States Steel work out a plan for the corporation now. Only this would be a vaster, all-inclusive plan.

They would find out how much manpower is available. They would find out how much raw material is available. They would find out how much transportation is available.

Then they would decide what is needed. First of all in consumers' goods: food, clothing, furniture, radios, automobiles, houses. They would say: "This year we will tear down so many hundred thousand houses and build new ones. This is possible because the figures show that we have the manpower, the bricks, the cement, the plaster, the steel, the glass, the plumbing, the roofing and other essentials needed for it."

Then they would say: "This year we will build so many additional cars. We will turn out so many pairs of

shoes, so many items of clothing, so much furniture, etc. In order to turn out still more next year we must expand certain basic industries. We will build so many new steel mills, so many machine tool shops, so many freight cars," etc.

Each industry will be given its separate plan as part of the national plan. And each plant in the industry will have its separate plan as part of the industry plan.

And what if we are running too far ahead of schedule? What if by August we have made enough shoes to nearly fulfill the plan for the whole year? The hours will be cut or, if necessary, the shoe workers will be sent on vacations unless they are vitally needed elsewhere.

Hours cut? Vacation? But how will they live?

That's exactly the point. Their pay will continue whether they work four hours a day or six or whether they go on vacation from September to December. And why shouldn't it? *They have achieved their goal. They have turned out their quota of shoes.* They have fulfilled their part of the plan. The plan called for so and so many million pairs of shoes. So and so much was appropriated for raw materials, so and so much for upkeep of plants and replacement, and so and so much for labor.

They are not wage slaves any longer. They don't hire out by the hour or the week. There is no profit-mad capitalist trying to speed them up to get so and so many pairs out of them in a month and then throw them out on the street. *They are their own boss.* They own the factory they work in because the factory is owned by their own government, democratically elected and controlled by them. And the factory is managed by their own committee working with engineers and specialists. Their factory was assigned so many pairs of shoes for the year. If by efficient work they turn them out ahead of schedule they would decide what to do with their free time. *But*

their full pay would go on! That is how we would plan and run industry to provide *Plenty for All.*

Why can't this be done today, under capitalism?

Because capitalism and planning are like oil and water. They don't mix.

What is the aim of planning? It is to provide a decent living for everybody. It is to so direct and organize things that there is *Plenty for All.*

What is the aim of capitalism? To make profits for the capitalist. The capitalist is not interested in what people need unless he can produce at a profit. The capitalist is not interested in whether his workers have a job unless he can produce at a profit. Only by ending capitalist ownership and establishing the common ownership of the producers can planning operate.

Why is the A&P able to sell more cheaply than the corner grocer? Why have all the independent telephone systems been forced to sell out to the Bell system? Why have the small steel mills practically been put out of business everywhere by United States Steel, Bethlehem and other giants? Because, under modern conditions, the big unit cuts out the waste and duplication. It ends the waste of wealth and waste of labor power of competitive business.

If a workers' government consolidated all the industries under one plan it could achieve the greatest efficiency yet seen. It could cut the waste of production down to a minimum.

Take the advertising industry. Under capitalism this is a major industry. Hundreds of thousands of people work at it directly and more indirectly. Printers, electricians, decorators, painters, radio engineers, script writers, photographers, etc. What for? To convince you to "avoid BO" by using Lifebuoy, to "walk a mile" for a Camel, to read the "Gazette," to wear "Zippees," to eat "Muscle-

Builder." Under a planned economy there would be no need to push one brand over the other. No one would be interested in raising the sales volume of one brand of cigarettes over another. If a smoker gets tired of one brand he will try others until he finds what he likes. And no one will drone into our ears over the radio night after night the silly slogans. The workers in this absolutely unproductive line would be used in more productive work, increasing the wealth and well-being of everyone. Their efforts could, for instance, be used in popular educational campaigns on a mass scale.

The planned economy *would do away with crisis and depressions*. If we produce according to a plan, there will be no over-production. But even if there was, we would just sit back until we used up the surplus. *But our income would certainly not be cut*. If anything, it might be increased. Because we are being paid out of the national wealth of the country, out of the national treasury. And if we produce too much, it just means that the country is richer, there is more wealth, everyone can get more and work less for a period, until the surplus is used up. Does this make sense? Isn't this logical? It is only because our minds are so warped by the idiocy of capitalism, with its crises and hunger in the midst of plenty, that we find it difficult to understand such a simple and logical arrangement.

The planned economy would for the first time make possible *an end to wars between nations*. Because the planned economy would not only include one country. The aim of the working class would be to end capitalism and all forms of exploitation everywhere, and everywhere introduce workers' governments and planned economy.

What causes war? The struggle for markets, raw materials, places to invest and exploit—in short, the drive for profits. With the end of capitalism and the end of profit

economy, ninety-nine per cent of the cause of war would be removed. The one per cent would be the hangover of national hatreds, suspicions, prejudices that have become deeply rooted in the peoples under capitalism. But these national hatreds would be outgrown in less than a generation of the Brotherhood of Man.

When a capitalist nation is not at war, it is preparing for war. It must keep the people in a mood that makes them ready to fight. It is therefore necessary to instill a nationalist spirit in people. "My country, my flag." And not knowing whom they might have to fight, the capitalists instill in the people a hatred of all the neighboring nations. Germans are taught contempt for Poles, and Frenchmen are taught hatred of Germans. Englishmen are taught to sneer at Americans and Americans are taught to hate Japanese.

In the world Brotherhood of Man such national hatreds would die out.

And with the end of national hatreds and wars would come the end of militarism. Armies and navies would become institutions only read about in history books, and weapons of war would become something only seen in museums with other relics of barbarism. Cutting out this great waste of labor and materials would add additional billions of income for the good things of life.

Likewise *the Age of Plenty would end race hatreds*. White and Gentile are brought up with suspicion and mistrust of Negro and Jew. These prejudices are ingrained almost from childhood by what they hear said. But what is the root of Jim Crow practice against the Negro? On the one hand a prejudiced feeling of superiority to the Negro, based on the fact that from his early slavery until today he continues to be kept at the lowest paid jobs and is not given an equal chance to advance. On the other hand, it arises from a fear of the Negro as a com-

petitor in the labor market. White workers fear that the Negro will work for less and take their jobs. These ideas are deliberately spread by the capitalists to keep the workers divided, to keep white workers hating Negroes instead of uniting for the interests of all workers.

In the Age of Plenty there would be no cause for fear of the competition of the Negro worker. There would be enough jobs for all at a high standard of living. Worker would not be pitted against worker for the benefit of capitalism. The deep-rooted prejudices of the whites against Negroes would die out in a generation or less. Above all, since the workers' government would actively oppose such ignorance as racial theories about Negroes being born inferior to white. It would spread scientific truth. Children would be taught science and brotherhood from the day they entered school.

The Age of Plenty would end all the hatreds and conflicts of capitalism. Today there are not enough of the good things of life to go around. We all fight like wolves for our crust. Man against man, nation against nation, race against race, class against class.

Place a hundred people in a room with a tiny opening for air. As they begin to suffocate, a mad fight takes place, with everyone attempting to get to the opening. In their madness, friend will turn upon friend, brother upon brother, son upon father. That is capitalism. The Age of Plenty will let air and sunshine into this dark world of ours. We will quit living like animals in the jungle. For the first time in his millions of years of struggle, Man will stand erect, as a dignified being. Man will only then really quit being another kind of animal.

The Age of Plenty will solve the bread and butter problem of our daily life. It will reduce hours of labor. No one can say how much. Perhaps twenty hours a week will be necessary at the start. As more inventions intro-

duce labor-saving machinery, the hours of labor will be reduced more. Who knows what science has in store for us? We may all be living comfortable lives with only a few months' labor out of the year.

What will this mean for mankind?

It will mean that the mass of people will no longer be beasts of burden while a few idle rich do nothing. The mass of people will for the first time have the leisure necessary for development of their minds. Culture will become possible for the mass instead of the few. As far as ninety per cent of the people are affected today, Shakespeare, Beethoven, Da Vinci and Van Gogh may as well never have lived. A college education will be possible for everyone. And then people will just have time to play. We do very little playing now. Perhaps a Sunday afternoon at the beach during summer. We all have things we want to do. Fishing, hunting, hiking, mountain climbing, swimming, horseback riding, flying, boating, gardening, traveling, short wave radio, stamp collecting, handicrafts, painting, photography and hundreds of other activities. Take traveling, for example. Great flying boats will take us from New York to London overnight. Or, if we prefer ocean travel, great liners will take us on world cruises. Man will really begin to live in the Age of Plenty. Up until now he has only existed from hand to mouth, never knowing what tomorrow will bring.

The Age of Plenty will bring real freedom and equality to woman. She will be free from a life of household drudgery and struggling to raise a family on an income hardly enough for two. Every household appliance, gadget and device for cooking and cleaning will be available. Homes will be built with glass, plastics, prefabricated stainless steels; especially designed for cleanliness. Doctors, nurses, medical advice, hospitalization, will be available for all. The spirit of brotherhood and coöpera-

tion will lead to a greater communal life. Children will spend more time with trained child-guidance experts in playrooms and playgrounds. Communal restaurants will encourage eating out with friends and neighbors.

But above all, women will be able to enter trades and professions on an equal footing with men. The age-old male prejudice, as unscientific as race prejudice, will die out when its economic basis is removed. Women will be free to develop their talents in many fields and many directions.

The Age of Plenty will preserve the family in a spirit of mutual aid and coöperation. Capitalism destroys the real bonds that should tie the family together. Lack of money is the greatest cause of family friction today. Husbands are overworked, develop ailments, bad nerves. Wives are forced into a life of drudgery and routine. Children find the home environment nerve-racking and unbearable. In depression the family is broken up as sons and daughters go to distant places to look for work. In war it is broken up as sons and fathers are drafted and mothers work on night shifts in war plants.

The Age of Plenty will increase the personal property we need to enjoy modern living. Clothes, radios, furniture, cameras, books, recordings, musical instruments, automobiles, small airplanes, camping equipment, are today for the most part out of the reach of the mass of the people. The Age of Plenty will end private ownership of the mills, mines and factories and thereby make possible for the individual the ownership of the good things of life.

The Age of Plenty will equalize incomes. No one is so foolish as to believe that everyone will receive the same amount of pay. We will start with the principle that those who make a special contribution to society by their skill, their harder work, their professional training, will receive extra compensation. Skilled workers will get extra com-

pensation for their skill. Miners, sand hogs, chemical workers will receive extra compensation because the work is so heavy, or dirty, or dangerous, or unhealthy. Engineers, physicians, inventors, chemists will receive extra compensation for their knowledge.

But when there will be enough of the comforts of life for everyone, men will cease thinking in terms of "How much will I get?" When one knows that one has enough for today and tomorrow and that there is more where that came from, one will not longer think as we do. We only want to heap up wealth for fear that we may some day be poor. Or else in order to get to the top of the heap and exploit others. Probably in the second generation of the Age of Plenty men will establish a new principle of pay: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need."

And with all that, men will develop new incentives to work. No longer driven to work by fear of hunger, labor will become a pleasure, an honor to perform. Today capitalism degrades labor. It is considered a failure in life to work at a job that dirties the hands. The white collar worker today is taught to be proud with his twenty-three dollars a week while a welder in his dirty overalls is looked down upon despite his fifty dollars a week. In the Age of Plenty men will learn that it is labor, the labor of hand and brain, that creates wealth. A crew of construction laborers who will go into unhealthy and insect-infected swamps and drain and dam them for cultivation may be summoned to the capital and decorated with the medal of the Heroes of Labor, and then perhaps sent on a pleasure cruise for relaxation.

The Age of Plenty will save the Mrs. McLeans, and Barbara Huttons, and du Pont sisters from their life of idle boredom. It will put them to useful work. No longer will they have to worry about what to do with their time.

Together with the poor souls on the Bowery who rot in demoralization and drunkenness, the government will teach them to do useful things. The able-bodied man who persistently refuses to do useful work in the Age of Plenty would be sent to a mental institution for observation, for such conduct would be a sure sign of a serious mental ailment.

The Age of Plenty would put an end to the graft and corruption in business and government today. Most of it would end on the day we take over private business. Who is it that pays graft to the politicians? Isn't it always some private capitalist? The contractor pays the politician for a contract. The banker pays the politician to get government business. The book publisher pays the politician to sell the text books to the schools. And so on. It is the capitalist who corrupts the politician. And private business itself is today full of graft and corruption. They call it rebates, commissions, mergers, stock reorganizations, etc. The salesman who wants to land a big order from a company will take out the buyer for a good time and promise him a part of the commission. The board of directors vote themselves big salaries and bonuses and cheat the stockholders. Why did the New Deal establish the Securities and Exchange Commission? Was it not precisely to stop the corruption in private business by which one capitalist cheats another?

When we remove the mad chase for profits and wealth we will make corruption impossible. Why should the manager of the government printing office want to bribe the head of a school system to get an order for books? The printing manager will get the same salary regardless of how many books he prints or to whom they go.

The Age of Plenty will not only mean plenty for all, but also Freedom for All.

For the first time in history, man will really be free.

Free from what? In the first place, free from fear. Free from fear of the boss, fear of losing his job, fear of war, fear of insecurity, fear of hunger.

And also for the first time in history, man will achieve real democracy. For democracy cannot function when men live in fear; when men fear to say what they think, fear to write what they believe, fear to join those they agree with.

Today every American writer and speaker and educator tries to outdo the other in praise of freedom and democracy. It is the American Way of Life, we are told. That is what we are at war for, they say.

But how much democracy and freedom do we have?

Everyone lives in fear and uncertainty. American workers sum it up when they say: "Don't stick your neck out or you'll get your head chopped off."

What about the worker on the job? If he is in a non-union shop he must be very careful as to what he says and to whom he speaks. Company spies and stooges have big ears. He must be careful about what he says about the company, or how things are managed, or about his foreman. He must be careful not to talk politics if he has "dangerous" ideas.

If he is in a union shop he is still in danger of being framed up for doing bad work or on some other charge. Often the union is controlled by bureaucrats who will be glad if the company gets rid of a "trouble maker" who is too active on behalf of the workers' rights. And in some unions the bureaucrats will expel a worker from membership because he criticizes how the union is run.

Is that worker really free to speak, write and act as he thinks?

Or take a teacher in a public school. His scientific and social studies have convinced him that the textbooks say things that are untrue and leave other things unsaid.

Instead of stories about fife-and-drum heroes, he thinks it more important to teach an understanding of the rise and development of capitalist economy. Instead of dry rot about municipal government, he thinks he should point to the graft and corruption in the city hall and explain what causes it. Instead of a feeling of national superiority, he thinks he should teach international understanding. But dare he? To stay in the public school system he suppresses the truth within himself and teaches what he is told to teach. Is such a man free?

How many teachers and professors have lost their positions because they dared say what they believed? How many priests and preachers have been unfrocked and excommunicated because they sought to preach about a better life on earth instead of "pie in the sky"? How many journalists have been fired because they refused to prostitute the truth for a weekly salary? How many doctors of medicine have been ostracized because they supported coöperative clinics against the policy of the medical associations? How many social workers have lost their positions because they sought to help their clients instead of starving them on official budgets?

Can there be freedom if one must depend upon others for the right to earn a living? If others can control our jobs, do they not control what we can say? If another has power over my bread and butter, over whether my children have food or not, does he not also have power over my freedom?

That is why there can be no real freedom under capitalism, even in the "freest" countries.

And what freedom is there for the minorities? Is not the right of the minority to live on equal terms with the rest, is not this the real test of freedom?

What freedom has the Negro in America? Born in the Black Ghetto, he is condemned even before birth to a life

of segregation, unequal opportunity, discrimination and carefully marked limits as to what he can and cannot become, where he can and cannot go, what he can and cannot do.

Or what freedom has the Jew in America? Particularly the Jewish worker whose application for a job will often be thrown out as soon as the interviewer comes to the heading of "nationality"?

Or what freedom have those holding radical political views? They must deny membership in a radical party, keep this from the boss, and be careful as to who knows about their views and affiliations.

And without true freedom there cannot be true democracy. For democracy to work it needs above all complete freedom for men to speak and write as they believe. Each last street sweeper, porter, ditch digger and farm hand must have a feeling of complete freedom in participating in the affairs of a democratic government. He must feel free to suggest, condemn, criticize, advise, proclaim without the slightest fear that those in charge will be able to strike back at him by discrimination on the job. This can never be under capitalism. That is why capitalist democracy can never reflect what the mass of the people are thinking. Only the capitalist class feels free in a capitalist democracy to speak out. What is why the name "capitalist democracy" fits so well. It is democracy for the capitalist and the outward trappings of democracy for the masses as long as they can be led to think as their "betters" do.

But there is more to it than just feeling free to speak out. In a modern nation one must have the means to reach people. But who controls the newspapers, the radio stations, the magazines, the schools, the hundred and one ways of bringing ideas before the public? These are in the hands of the capitalist class. Is there a genuine right of

free speech when one cannot get radio time for views the capitalists want to suppress? When police have the right to deny permits for free speech on the street corners? When meeting halls can be refused to certain organizations by a conspiracy of the building owners? Is there a genuine right of free press when newspapers can print what they please against labor and refuse to print what capitalists think "undesirable"? Or when every obstacle is placed in the path of small weekly labor papers by the post office, by policemen persecuting distributors, etc.?

In the Age of Plenty we will have a true democracy because men will have real freedom to take part in a democracy and men will have the means of doing it. No longer will men fear to say what they believe. No longer will the newspapers and radio exist to further the views of the rich and powerful. Every citizen will have access to the columns of the press. Every hundred or so citizens who band together to put forth some proposal will have access to radio time or printing facilities and paper to publish their own material.

Public discussion of policy will therefore become widespread and such use of the radio and newspapers by citizens will become practical. With short hours of work and with a good education for everyone, the whole population will have an interest in and the possibility of taking part in running the country. Instead of leaving it to a class of professional politicians, as under capitalism, it will become the responsibility of everyone.

The Age of Plenty will therefore also be the Age of Freedom and the Age of Democracy.

The Age of Plenty will bring an end to the class struggle. When we have ended the system whereby the vast majority work for a living and the small minority live off their labor, we will have ended the division of society into classes. Everyone will have to do useful work in order to

live. There will no longer be capitalist and wage worker. Everyone will do his part in the planned economy and everyone will have his say in running it. Man will at last have achieved the classless society.

The Age of Plenty will mean the end of the age-old exploitation of man by man. Instead, we will all pull together to exploit nature. The Machine Age makes this possible. Man will rise to his full dignity as a human being. Man will for the first time get off his knees. Man will quit living in fear of tomorrow and start living in enjoyment of today.

That is the Age of Plenty. That is the promise of socialism. That is the future of mankind.

Yes, the Age of Plenty, that is the full meaning of socialism.

That is why the capitalists lie to us about socialism. That is why they tell us it means "dividing up"—or "tyranny"—or "it won't work"—or "it's utopian."

No, it is capitalism that "divides up": cream for the capitalists and skim milk for the workers.

It is capitalism that is "tyranny": the tyranny of the boss today plus the tyranny of fascism tomorrow.

It is capitalism that "won't work": that gives us hunger in the midst of plenty and mass murder in war.

It is capitalism that is "utopian": that utterly mismanages the Machine Age.

Socialism—the Age of Plenty—the future of mankind.

Do we have the intelligence to understand it?

Do we have the courage to achieve it?

CHAPTER VI

Why Russia Turned Sour

Today, the defenders of capitalism answer every argument for socialism by saying: "But look at Russia!"

But Russia *never* had socialism!

Nor could Russia alone have socialism!

Because socialism is the Age of Plenty.

And Russia *never* had plenty.

In 1917 the Russian workers and peasants took the power from the capitalists. They organized a workers' government. They took over the industries. They began to plan production.

But Russia was a very poor country. Russia was not yet even in the Machine Age. Eighty per cent of the people lived on farms. They worked with primitive tools. There were some very large plants. But very few of them. Even the Russian capitalists were just poor cousins to the English, German and American capitalists.

The Russian Revolution could do little more than bring about equality in poverty, not in wealth.

Russia was a hundred years behind America. If we tried to introduce the Age of Plenty in America in 1817 we could not have done better than the Russians. For the Age of Plenty requires, first of all, the Machine Age to provide mass production of the good things of life.

Then were the Russian workers wrong in taking power from the capitalists? No. Because only such a workers'

revolution could bring peace to Russia, give the land to the peasants, and take the industry that was broken down by the war and at least produce enough so no one starved or froze to death.

What was it like in Russia when the working class took over and began building up? In 1920, an English journalist, Arthur Ransome, visited Russia and wrote a book describing the breakdown of industry by war:

But things are no better if we turn from the rye and corn lands to the forests. Saws are worn out. Axes are worn out. Even apart from that, the shortage of transport affects the production of wood fuel, lack of which reacts on transport and on the factories and so on in a circle from which nothing but a large import of engines and wagons will provide an outlet. Timber can be floated down the rivers. Yes, but it must be brought to the rivers. Surely, horses can do that. Yes, but horses must be fed, and oats do not grow in the forests. For example, this spring [1920] the best organized timber production was in Perm Government. There sixteen thousand horses have been mobilized for the work, but further development is impossible for lack of forage. A telegram bitterly reports: "Two trains of oats from Ekaterinburg are expected day by day. If the oats arrive in time, a considerable success will be possible." And if the oats do not arrive in time? Besides, not horses alone require to be fed. The men who cut the wood cannot do it on empty stomachs. And again rises a cry for trains that do not arrive, for food that exists somewhere, but not in the forest where men work. The general effect of the wreck of transport on food is stated as follows: Less than twelve per cent of the oats required, less than five per cent of the bread and salt required for really efficient working, were brought to the forests. Nonetheless three times as much wood has been prepared as the available transport has removed.

Even when wood is brought by river the trouble is not yet overcome. The horses are dead and eaten or starved and weak. Factories have to cease working so that the workmen, themselves underfed, can drag the wood from the barges to the mills. It may well be imagined what the effect of hunger, cold, and the disheartenment consequent on such conditions of work and the seeming hopelessness of the position have on the productivity of labor, the fall in which reacts on all the industries, on transport, on the general situation and so again on itself.

Does this sound like the Machine Age?
Does this sound like the foundation for an Age of Plenty?

Does this sound like the beginning of socialism?

But when the Bolshevik Party led the working class to power, Lenin and Trotsky knew that it was impossible to build socialism in Russia alone. They said so openly. At that time the whole world was on the move. The workers in Germany, Italy, Hungary, Finland and Austria carried out revolutions. In England, France and America labor was restless. Lenin and Trotsky looked to a world revolution. Europe and America were economically ready for the Age of Plenty. Together with them the Russians could establish the World Brotherhood of Man. Wrote Lenin then:

We are now as if in a beleaguered fortress until other detachments of the international socialist revolution come to our rescue. But these detachments exist, they are more numerous than ours, they mature, they grow, they become stronger as the bestialities of imperialism continue.... The workers are going slowly, but unswervingly, toward Communist, Bolshevik tactics, toward the proletarian revolution, which is the only one capable of saving perishing culture and perishing mankind.

In a word, we are invincible, because the world proletarian revolution is invincible.—(*A Letter to American Workers.*)

But the world working class was defeated. In Germany the social-democratic traitors to labor refused to take over the industries and build for socialism. The left wing, followers of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, was defeated in bloody street fighting. The cause of capitalism was saved.

The world working class left the Russians in the lurch. The Russian workers tried to lift themselves up by their own bootstraps as best they could, while they waited for new world developments. But it was an economy of scarcity, not plenty. And in an economy of scarcity all the

old vices of capitalism begin coming back again, no matter who owns the industries.

Russian industry was government-owned, but Russia remained a shut-in room with one hundred and fifty millions fighting to get a breath of air from a window too small to provide for everyone. Like under capitalism, the merciless struggle for existence continued.

And the scum came out on top!

That always happens where there isn't enough.

The office-seekers, the bureaucrats, the opportunists, the careerists, gradually pushed themselves into the seats of power—and at their head stood Stalin.

And the workers were pushed back into misery and dumb silence.

Like a cobra, the bureaucracy coiled itself around the democratic workers' organizations established by the Revolution and slowly strangled them. First, the Soviets were reduced into meetings of hand-picked delegates where the stooges and yes-men gave unanimous votes for the Stalin gang. Then the trade unions were wiped out and replaced by machines that did nothing for their members except think up new speed-up systems. And finally the Bolshevik Party itself was "cleaned up," and only one hundred per cent Stalin men permitted to remain.

Trotsky and the other old comrades of Lenin were exiled, imprisoned, or shot. In their places rose a whole new set of leaders; the pie-card artists, the ambitious young bureaucrats, the successful factory managers and engineers, the ruthless GPU chiefs, all the men who made a career out of being "communists." They were not in the least interested in world revolution and the Brotherhood of Man. The idealism of the early Bolsheviks was replaced by the cynicism of the bureaucrats. The internationalism of the early Bolsheviks was replaced by the Russian nationalism of the new leaders. The spirit of

democracy and fraternity which took hold of the people during the Revolution was replaced by new caste and class divisions.

The industry still remained government owned. But the working class was no longer in control of the government. The Russian experience has taught us that there cannot be a workers' state unless the working class can democratically control it. Hitler may take state power and rule without the advice of the German capitalist class. But the capitalists still keep their factories, and capitalism is still capitalism. But in Russia, once the Stalin bureaucracy took political control from the workers, the latter had no control over the government-owned factories. The factories, like the government itself, were under complete control of the bureaucrats. They managed them, not for the welfare of the Russian people, but to increase their own income, power and prestige. The economy was still collectively owned by the government, but the government was owned by the bureaucracy, which now became the new ruling class. This form of rule is best described as bureaucratic collectivism, a system that reduces labor to a new kind of slavery.

Ever since Stalin came into power, Russia has played a game of power politics with the other countries. Instead of relying chiefly upon the working class of the capitalist world, Stalin has relied upon deals and diplomatic maneuvers. His policy was to keep Russia out of trouble, regardless of what happened to the revolutionary workers in other countries. As a result of this policy, the Chinese Revolution in 1926 was misled and ended in bloody defeat, the German workers were held back from the fight until Hitler took over and smashed them, and in 1936-38 the Spanish working class was sold out by Moscow to gain favor with British and French politicians.

When all the deals with the "democratic" capitalist

nations failed, Stalin played his last card, the pact with Hitler. But in the end this availed him nothing. In June, 1941, the Nazis poured across the Russia border to achieve a long-sought prize for German imperialism—the vast resources of raw materials in Russia, above all, oil and wheat. Though brutally oppressed by the bureaucratic police rule of Stalin, the Russian masses felt that conquest and oppression by German imperialism could only make their misery worse. They therefore fought heroically to defend their national soil. And, further, the very idea of private capitalists taking over and owning the factories had, in the twenty-five years since the Revolution, become so identified with the dark past of mankind that many of the Russian people undoubtedly see in German capitalism a long step backward even compared to their own reactionary régime of bureaucratic collectivism.

In a statement issued at the time of the invasion of Russia, the Workers Party of the United States stated that despite the wholesome sentiments of the masses in Russia, their heroism would avail them nothing, since Stalin had lined up Russia in one imperialist camp and was waging the war as part of the total imperialist conflict that covered the earth.

Only when the world working class rises to overthrow capitalism and usher in the Age of Plenty will the Russian workers once more find the road of October, 1917, that is, the road of socialism. They will make short work of their bureaucratic slave-drivers and join hands with us in building the World Brotherhood of Man.

CHAPTER VII

How It Can Be Done

How can we end capitalism and introduce the Age of Plenty?

Who will do it, and how?

Only one class of people has a real interest in overthrowing capitalism and the power to do it. That is the working class. In America they are the majority of the population. Once they understand what they want, they have the power to end capitalism.

In order to end capitalism, the working class must take political power. This means taking the reins of government into their own hands, and organizing a workers' government.

Today the government — or the state power — is supposed to represent everyone. We are told it is a democratic state. What is the actual situation?

Whenever the workers fight for better conditions, how do the police act? Impartially? No. In the name of "law and order," they beat up the workers.

We are told that labor and capital are really partners. What happens when these "partners" quarrel? Have you ever heard of the police beating up a capitalist during a strike? Or beating up strike-breakers and scabs?

Tom Mooney was framed up and spent most of his life in prison for organizing labor. Sacco and Vanzetti were framed up and murdered in the electric chair for

the same reason. There are today many working class leaders in jail in California, Kentucky, Illinois, Washington, and other states. Have you ever heard of a judge sentencing a capitalist for breaking up a labor union, or for fighting union men, or for paying starvation wages, or for hiring detectives to spy on workers? Of course not. The law doesn't read that way. Ninety per cent of all laws are concerned with private property and its protection. Ninety per cent of all congressmen are lawyers concerned with safeguarding capitalism.

The state does not represent everyone. It is always in the hands of the economically most powerful class in society. Today the capitalist class is most powerful. It is a capitalist state. Its aim is to guard and protect the interests of the capitalist class.

In a capitalist democracy like the United States the control of the government by the capitalist class is hidden under the cloak of "the people rule." Yet if we look under the cloak we will soon see what makes things tick.

In the first place, the federal administration and the various state governments are always in the hands of the politicians of either the Democratic or the Republican parties. Who owns and controls these parties? The big capitalist cliques who put up the money for them. Have you ever been asked to contribute to a Republican or Democratic campaign fund? Of course not. They get all the money they need from the bankers and industrialists. All they need is your vote. And to get that they are willing to spend millions of dollars.

By now, almost every worker understands that the Republican Party is the party of big capital. But millions of workers still vote for the Democratic Party in the belief that Roosevelt and the New Deal represent the interests of labor.

Who is the Democratic Party? In the North the Demo-

cratic Party consists of corrupt political machines like the Kelly-Nash gang in Illinois, the Tammany Hall-Farley elements in New York, the Hague machine in northern New Jersey, etc. In the South the Democratic Party consists of the "lily white" ruling class with its Ku Klux Klan mentality, its poll-tax elections, and its bankrupt and backward state governments. While the Democratic politicians in the North will play ball with labor to hook its vote, the Democratic officials in the South openly do the bidding of the industrialists and plantation owners and meet union organizers with lynch mobs. In the home state of the red-hot New Dealer, Senator Pepper of Florida, Ku Klux Klan members of the police force of Tampa tarred and feathered and beat to death a union organizer, Shoemaker. In the Democratic state of Missouri, the laborers in the cotton fields recently had to go on strike for *thirty cents an hour and a ten-hour day!*

But what about Roosevelt and the New Deal? asks the worker who daily reads the capitalist press denounce Roosevelt for being pro-labor.

It is true that the majority of the big capitalists have opposed Roosevelt's New Deal laws like the Wagner Labor Act, the WPA set-up, the wages and hours law, etc. But this only proves that they knew less than Roosevelt did about what was good for capitalism. These capitalists like Henry Ford, Eugene Grace, Wier, Budd and other die-hard anti-labor employers, had only one answer for mass discontent—the big stick. But the smarter capitalists had already learned under Hoover that when people are jobless and underpaid and hungry the big stick will only make them more radical.

Just consider how Hoover and Roosevelt acted when the "bonus army" marched to Washington. Hoover called out the troops and General MacArthur covered himself with glory by gassing and shooting the unarmed veterans

who were asking for what Congress had already voted them. The "bonus army" camp on Anacostia Flats was burned down and the veterans driven out of Washington and hounded along the roads like so many animals.

When in the first months of the Roosevelt Administration, a new "bonus army" began to march on Washington, they were treated quite differently. A clean camp with army tents and equipment was provided for them outside of Washington and rations were issued to feed them. With the keen eye for publicity that makes FDR a clever politician, Mrs. Roosevelt was sent out to distribute coffee and doughnuts to the marchers. They were smothered with kindness. But did Roosevelt help them get the bonus? No. He vetoed the Bonus Bill just like Hoover did. It was passed only over his opposition. And what is more, the bonus marchers were offered work relief jobs on Key West and sent away. Here they fell victim to a terrible tragedy when the carelessness and stupidity of those in charge caused them to be marooned on a storm-swept island where scores died by drowning and exposure.

Hoover gave the veterans bullets and gas.

Roosevelt gave them doughnuts and work-relief.

But both opposed the Bonus Bill.

Their treatment of other problems followed the same line. The American workers, farmers and lower middle classes were in no mood to be trifled with when Roosevelt took over in 1933. Had he acted like Hoover, it would have resulted in serious trouble. And against the opposition of most of the reactionary capitalists, Roosevelt set out on a policy of concessions and soft-soap. He bamboozled labor into thinking him its greatest friend. He managed to get capitalism over a tough spot without too much trouble. And he lined up solid workers' and farmers' votes for the Democratic Party.

But whenever his hand was forced, Roosevelt would show where he stood. It was Roosevelt who answered the appeals of the hard-pressed Little Steel strikers following the massacre of pickets by the Chicago police in May, 1937, by saying: "A plague on both your houses." It was Roosevelt who ordered the cut in WPA and then mobilized the FBI to help break the strike of WPA workers. It was Roosevelt who answered John L. Lewis in the "captive mine" dispute by saying he would never favor the government "delivering" the five per cent non-union minority of miners to the United Mine Workers. It was Roosevelt who ordered the U.S. Army to break the strike of the CIO at North American Aircraft in California, even before Pearl Harbor and the "no-strike" pledge.

And when the worker thinks of higher wages, overtime pay, unemployment insurance, and other pro-labor laws under the New Deal, he should not forget that these were but small handouts when compared with the tremendous rise in profits for the big corporations. Compare the profits of the biggest corporations in Hoover's 1932 with the profits in Roosevelt's 1936! Du Pont went up from \$26,000,000 in 1932 to \$89,000,000 in 1936. General Motors from a measly \$165,000 to over \$238,000,000! United States Steel from a loss of \$71,000,000 to profits of \$50,000,000. And so on down the long list.

It is only because the worker is so used to being kicked around by the government that the little handouts and little kindnesses of Roosevelt immediately made him forget all else and see in FDR "labor's best friend."

Roosevelt, like Hoover, each in his own way, does his utmost to preserve capitalism and the profits of the capitalists.

The Democratic Party, like the Republican Party, each in its own way, is out to hoodwink the mass of the

people and faithfully serve the interests of their masters, the capitalist ruling class.

The worker who fights his boss on the industrial front and then votes for the boss' candidate on the political front will forever remain a sucker, to be taken in the year around.

The worker who strikes on the picket line and then votes for the Republican or Democratic ticket on election day is scabbing at the ballot box.

As long as labor supports capitalist candidates, the capitalist government will treat labor with the contempt it deserves.

But behind the politicians stand the real rulers, behind the White House hovers Wall Street, behind the talk about "the people rule" is the real rule of the capitalists, behind the fake cloak of a "people's government" is the machinery of the capitalist state.

Why do working people year in and year out vote for the candidates bought, paid for, and produced by the capitalist ruling class?

They do it because they don't know better. All the channels of education, news and opinion are in the hands of the ruling class. "The ruling ideas are the ideas of the ruling class," because from childhood on, the thinking of the average person is influenced to accept things as they are and oppose any radical change.

The capitalist firmly believes that capitalism is the only possible system, the best possible system, that it began with Adam and Eve and will continue as long as mankind exists. The school system teaches us this view, sometimes very openly, but always by implying it. This continues when we go to church, or hear a politician, or read a newspaper, or a magazine, or listen to the radio. "The American Way of Life," they call it, or "the system of private enterprise," or "the system of free competition," or

"rugged individualism." This is the only way, we are told. On the other hand, socialism, communism, radicalism, are all lumped with government bureaucracy, regimentation, dictatorship, tyranny, and "dividing up," and condemned as the work of the devil. But those who speak and write that way do it because they know on which side their bread is buttered. The heads of the school system, the college professors, the editors, the radio commentators, the preachers, they all make their living by keeping the working people confused and in ignorance as to the real set-up today. The truth is obscured and replaced by lies.

The main effort of capitalist propaganda is to make the worker forget he is a worker. Make him think of himself as a citizen of a democracy, just as important as the Morgans or Fords, cover over the fact that the capitalists work together as a class and, for God's sake, keep the workers from getting together for their own ends. In other words, the main effort is to keep the worker from becoming *class conscious*, from understanding that his only future is in standing together with all other workers against the class enemy.

For once the workers realize that they are all workers at bottom, they will learn to stand together, skilled and unskilled, AFL and CIO, Gentile and Jew, Catholic and Protestant, white and Negro, New Yorker and Californian, native-born and foreign-born, male worker and female worker, day shift and night shift, employed and unemployed, city worker and farm laborer.

On the day the working class understands that it is kept divided by ignorance and prejudice spread by capitalist propaganda and knows that it must unite as class brothers and comrades, no power on earth could oppose it. No guns, no chains, no clubs, no army, no police, no courts, no jails, no fascist gangs, no terror, no brutality;

nothing could stand in the way of the mighty mass of humanity who sweat and toil and keep the wheels of civilization turning.

When the working class organizes its power it will sweep away the capitalist state with its scheming politicians and police clubs and replace it with a *workers' state*, democratically elected from the shops and workers' organizations. Taking state power from the capitalists and placing it in the workers' hands—that is the first step toward the Age of Plenty.

But how will this change come about?

Ever since the beginning of capitalism a struggle has gone on between capital and labor. It is inevitable. The division of labor's product into wages and profits is the root of the class struggle. As long as we have one class owning and another class working, we will have the class struggle. It continues in time of peace or time of war, under capitalist democracy or fascist dictatorship. No one can stop it. Neither Hitler nor Stalin, neither Roosevelt nor Browder, neither William Green nor John L. Lewis. It is created by capitalism and can only be ended by the classless society of socialism. Dictatorship merely seals the lid down on the class struggle. But woe to the dictatorship when the lid is blown off! The explosion will be all the more violent.

The class struggle goes on daily, sometimes concealed, sometimes open, sometimes in minor skirmishes, sometimes in major battles. The working class must set itself a goal in this class war—the capturing of state power from the class enemy and organizing the Age of Plenty. To do this the working class requires, in the first place—*organization*.

The American workers already have the most fundamental type of organization—the trade unions. But the unions, *by themselves*, are not the *type* of organization

that is equipped to solve labor's problem *fundamentally*. And the unions today are not led by men who know how or are ready to solve labor's problem. For this it is necessary that the working class choose leaders who are dedicated to the program of carrying on the class struggle to its logical conclusion, socialism. Short of this, the unions will continue to be led in the main by careerists, bureaucrats, pie-card artists, and the like. They will only fight for labor's interests when pushed from below by the rank and file. And then they will compromise and mislead the struggle and make their terms with capital at the first opportunity. It is therefore necessary to fight for democracy in the unions, for the widest rank and file voice in decisions and running the affairs of the unions. And through this rank and file democracy to select those workers for union leaders who stand dedicated to a fighting program.

But the fight on the trade union front is only half the battle, and not the decisive front. The other front is the political front. The main weapon of the capitalist class is its control of a political force—the state. The working class must organize for the political struggle also—it needs its own party, a working class party—an Independent Labor Party.

The program of such an Independent Labor Party should direct the workers' struggles toward establishing a workers' state and the Age of Plenty. But if the mass of workers do not yet understand the need of this, a beginning must be made on those points that they *will* understand, like the following:

Hands off the right to strike!

Against wartime dictatorship measures!

A government levy on capital to cover the cost of imperialist war!

Soak the rich—let them pay for their war!

Conscript all war industries under workers' control!
Expropriate the Sixty Families!

For control of price fixing and rationing by working class organizations, housewives and farmers' organizations!

But the important thing is for labor to organize politically as a separate class party, independent of the Democrats and Republicans, and in direct class opposition to them and their capitalist masters.

Today labor has its own economic organizations, the trade unions. The bosses have their own economic organizations, the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers. What would you think of workers who supported the bosses' economic organizations instead of their own unions? They would certainly either be traitors or suckers. Yet labor, year in and year out, continues to endorse the bosses' political organizations, the Republican and Democratic parties, instead of organizing its own Independent Labor Party.

Once the working class is organized in its own party it must carry on the fight for power, the workers' state, and carry on this fight by all weapons at its disposal. The party must take part in elections to place workers in public office, above all in the city councils, state legislatures and U.S. Congress. Here they must use these bodies to proclaim the rights of labor and expose its enemies.

But mere electoral and parliamentary activity will prove to be insufficient. For we live in the Death Agony of Capitalism. We shift only between the paralysis of unemployment and the fever of war. In this period it is impossible to foresee a long, peaceful growth for such an Independent Labor Party. It will be faced by one crisis after another. The working class will learn what it wants and begin to fight for ever more far-reaching demands. It will have to fight for them because decaying capitalism leaves it no alternative. If the Independent Labor Party

keeps pace with these demands and developments, if it takes the road of revolutionary socialism, it will lead the working class in the struggle for state power. Otherwise the working masses will leave this party and seek a working class party that will lead them to a basic solution of their problems.

At one point in the process of increasing class struggle and collapsing capitalism, the patience of the masses will end. They will declare that they cannot go on living in the old way. They will boldly come forward to end the capitalist mismanagement of society. And in the face of the final crisis, the capitalist class will be siezed by division, helplessness, and demoralization. Some will advocate further concessions, while others will call for a bloody attack upon labor. The revolutionary period will have come.

Out of the struggles of the working class, the strikes, demonstrations, food seizures, sit-downs, will come the mass organizations that in revolutionary periods always rise to unite the working people—the *workers' councils*. From each shop, from each union, from each community of working farmers, will come the elected delegates of the working masses, the real democracy of the people, the real spokesmen for the will of the nation. They will elect a National Workers' Council—the Congress of the Working Class. Its voice will be law to the workers' organizations. It will present a program to lead the nation out of economic disorder and chaos. It will take measures to defend the workers' organizations against fascist gangs and illegal police attacks. With the vast majority of the people supporting it, its power will be real and that of the politicians who hold power for the capitalist class will become a shadow. If the capitalist politicians refuse to heed the will of the majority as expressed in the program of the workers' councils, the latter will turn out the representa-

tives of capitalism and declare the workers councils to be the governing authority—the workers' state. It will begin issuing laws to establish order and organize the Age of Plenty.

The fascist leaders and the capitalists who support them will be arrested. The arms will be taken from the enemies of labor and given to workers' guards. The mills, mines, factories, and railways will be declared the property of the nation. Production for profit will end and production for the use of the people will begin.

We will be ready to usher in the Age of Plenty.

CHAPTER VIII

Where To Begin

You are a worker. You have read this program. You agree we cannot go on living under capitalism, with its crises and wars. You are in favor of the Age of Plenty. You want to organize to fight for it.

What can you do? Where to begin?

The first step is to turn your back upon the parties of capitalism, the Republicans and Democrats, upon the labor fakers and bureaucrats, upon the Stalinists and their stooges—in other words, to make a clean break with capitalism and all its props and crutches.

The second step is to join with those who are fighting for a workers' state and socialism. These are the class-conscious workers organized into the Workers Party of the United States.

The Workers Party was organized in April, 1940, by those members of the Fourth International in this country who refuse to support either camp in the imperialist war—neither London - Washington - Moscow, nor Berlin - Rome - Tokyo, and call for the victory of the Third Camp

of the workers, farmers, and oppressed peoples of the world.

The Workers Party is organized into local branches in most of the main industrial centers of the country. Its members are active in the ranks of labor, everywhere pressing forward the ideas expressed in this booklet. Through distributing the weekly paper, *Labor Action*, through meetings, lectures and study classes, through talks with their fellow workers, through activity in their labor union, the members of the Workers Party constantly seek to educate the working class as to the truth about capitalism and the need to fight for socialism. The Workers Party, and *Labor Action*, with its circulation of tens of thousands of copies weekly, exercises an influence upon the ranks of labor far beyond the as yet small membership. This influence is the result of the self-sacrificing work of hundreds of loyal activists who daily carry on for socialism and the fact that the ideas of the Workers Party correspond to the needs of the working class.

But to educate, organize and lead the working class in the fight for socialism, the Workers Party must grow to become a mass party of tens of thousands. It needs every worker who agrees to fight for a workers' state and the Age of Plenty.

That is the second step for you!

That is where to begin!

As a soldier of the working class—

As a fighter for freedom—

As an enemy of capitalism—

As a builder of socialism—

IN THE RANKS OF THE WORKERS PARTY.

Join the fight to rally the millions of workers to fight for the Age of Plenty and the Brotherhood of Man upon

THE WORKERS PARTY PLATFORM

LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

1. Hands off the stright to strike! For the defense of civil rights and all workers' rights! Against any wartime dictatorship measures!
2. \$1.00 an hour minimum pay! Time and a half for overtime; double time for Sunday and holiday work.
3. Wage increases to meet rising costs. No wage or job freezing! Equal pay or equal work!
4. For a greater share of the increasing national income. For a higher standard of living!
5. No sales tax on consumer goods! No tax on wages! Against forced savings!
6. For control of price fixing and rationing by committees of working class organizations, housewives and farmers' organizations. Freeze rents and consumer goods prices at the 1940 level to stop the rise in the cost of living.
7. No government contract without a union contract! The closed shop in all war industries!
8. Maintain and increase all government social services!

SOAK THE RICH—LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR!

9. A government levy on capital to cover the cost of the imperialist war. Confiscate all war profits!
10. Conscript all war industries under workers' control!
11. Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the three per cent of the people who own ninety-six per cent of the national wealth!

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO THE DRAFTEES!

12. The right of free speech, free press and free assembly for the men in the armed forces.
13. The right of soldiers to vote in all elections.
14. The right of all youth, male or female, to vote at the age of eighteen. Old enough to fight; old enough to work; old enough to vote!
15. For adequate dependency allowances paid by the government with NO deductions from the soldier's pay.

SMASH JIM CROW!

16. Down with Jim Crow and anti-Semitism! All discrimination against Negroes in the Army and Navy or by employers in industry must be made a criminal offense!
17. For full political, social and economic equality for Negroes!

BE PREPARED!

18. For Workers' Defense Guards, trained and controlled by the unions, against vigilante and fascist attacks!
19. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government! No political support to the Roosevelt government!
20. For Peace Through Socialism! For the independence of all colonies!
21. For a World Socialist Federation! Only a socialist world will destroy capitalist imperialism and fascist barbarism!

For further information about the Workers Party,
write to the
National Secretary,
WORKERS PARTY,
114 West 14th Street,
New York 11 New York

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